ORD CHELMSFORD'S VICEROYALTY :: ::

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BY

AKSHAYA K. GHOS

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LORD CHELMSFORD'S VICEROYALTY

A CRITICAL SURVEY

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15 APR 1921
MADRAS

By

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PREFACE

The five years administration of Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy and Governor General of India has been so full of momentous events that a rapid political survey has been deemed necessary before His Excellency actually lays down the reins of his high office,—for the purpose of recording those events, if for nothing else. Having regard to His Excellency's antecedents one should have thought that his administration would at best be a sterile one but what would otherwise have been a barren administration now bids fair to be recognised as one fraught with the gravest consequences in the future history of India.

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LORD CHELMSFORD, 14TH VICEROY
1916—1921.

HIS EARLY CAREER.

Grandson of a former Lord Chancellor and son of an English General both bearing the same name, Lord Chelmsford entered the profession of law as a practising barrister of England. He had, however, distinguished family connections, and his appointment to the most important office under the crown was a surprise,—a great surprise to the informed as well as the uninformed, particularly to those who kept themselves abreast of English public life.

THE EUROPEAN WAR

When in April 1916, Lord Chelmsford took over the reins of office the greatest war in History was still raging in Europe and the fate of England and France was

hanging in the balance. The allies were making supreme efforts to which India contributed a very large share in men, money and munitions. She contributed nearly a million and a half in men including 400,000 non-combatants. Her soldiers had earned the admiration of the best European Generals and critics in the fields of Flanders, in Turkey, in Egypt and in Mesopotamia against insuperable odds and difficulties. They were found to have been of the greatest service to the Empire in the famous battles of Marne and Ypres where, but for the valiant stand they made to check the onward rush of the enemy, the fortune of the great war would possibly have been differently recorded, and it would have come to a close perhaps two years sooner than it did. At Gallipoli, the determination with which they fought, and the gallantry they exhibited, may be said to have never been excelled by any army in any period of history. England's honour was in their hands and they discharged the trust of maintaining it unsullied with devotion, loyalty and fearlessness.

British Statesmen were seriously thinking how best to recognise the splendid services rendered by India to the Empire, while President Wilson of America was inculcating the principles of his doctrine of the Self-determination of Nations. To those of our countrymen who shed their blood and laid down their lives, is due the eternal gratitude of India for the instalment of political reforms she has got, however small and unsubstantial it may be.

THE SCHEME OF THE NINETEEN

India like the rest of the World had become impatient and wanted very considerable change in the form of her administration. With a view to bring matters to a head, nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council submitted a Scheme of Reforms, the object of which was to subordinate the executive to the legislature. At Lucknow this Scheme with slight modifications and embodying the Hindu Moslem compact was adopted both by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League in 1916. The Congress-League

Scheme may justly be said to be the starting point of the proposals for Indian Constitutional reforms.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF AUGUST, 20, 1917

To allay public uneasiness in respect of political reforms in India, His Majesty's government through Mr. Montagu the Secretary of State for India announced that,

"the policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

In making the announcement His Majesty's Government declared that, they were determined to make a substantial advance in the direction with the least

possible delay, and that, with that view the Secretary of State for India was coming out to India immediately to confer with the Viceroy and ascertain the views of the local governments, that the successive stages of development and the time and measure of each advance shall be determined upon by the British Government and the Government of India. Needless to say that the announcement eased the situation and calmed the excitement which was almost at its height.

THE MONTAGU—CHELMSFORD SCHEME

In virtue of the announcement of August 20 the Secretary of State and the Viceroy toured round India, to ascertain the views of the local governments, as well as those of the different political bodies and associations and of representative individuals. The result was the production of a masterpiece of political literature entitled "Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms." The proposals made in the report were widely discussed both in India and

in England. Some, mainly the Anglo-Indian community, official and non-official, regarded the concessions proposed to be made in the report as too wide in the present state of India's political and intellectual development, others, the Indian community, fully conscious of their own capability, in spite of what the Anglo Indians may say to the contrary, regarded them as too narrow. Opinion was sharply divided and over the question of reforms much bad blood was created between those who belonged to the ruling race and those who belonged to the ruled. In spite of all these, the Secretary of State was unmoved and immoveable, and it was evident, that he was bent upon carrying through the reforms in order to start India on the road to responsible Government, even though the Viceroy lost no time in his subsequent despatches to go back with his colleagues in the Government of India, save Sir Sankaran Nair, upon his own report, at any rate, the report, the responsibility for which he shared in equal degree with Mr. Montagu.

THE COMMITTEES

Two Committees of importance were appointed, one to consider the problem of Sedition, and the other the problem of University Education in India.

(*a*) The earlier was the Sedition Committee which was charged with the investigation into the nature and extent of the Criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India, and with the examination and consideration of the difficulties that have arisen, in dealing with such conspiracies, and to advice as to the legislation, if necessary, to enable Government to deal effectively with them. The Committee submitted their report in April 1918, on which was based the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, popularly known as the Rowlatt Act, so named after the President of the Committee, Sir Sidney Rowlatt, a Judge of the English High Court. The Act was passed in the teeth of the fiercest opposition on the part of the people of the country, for it empowered the Executive to deprive any subject of His Majesty of his liberty with

little formality. The surprise of the entire Indian people who, are accustomed to look upon the members of the English bar as the stoutest champions of personal liberty under any circumstances, who remembered the life history of Coke and Mansfield, and of Erskine and Brougham, was as to how a government at the head of which there was a member of the English bar with legal traditions coursing in his veins could tolerate an enactment so iniquitous as the Rowlatt Act. A further source of astonishment was the fact that the strongest supporter of the Bill in the Council, even stronger than the member in charge of the Bill, who was no other than a civilian, was his law member, also a member of the English bar. Not unnaturally did the Indian people infer, that Civilian or Barrister, there was not much to choose between one Englishman and another in India and this inference was further accentuated by the support the bill received from the entire European community in this country.

(*b*) The Calcutta University Commis-

sion was appointed by the Viceroy with Sir Michael Sadler as President, and a number of eminent educationists as members, two of whom were Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee and Dr. Hartog, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Dacca, to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta, and to consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the questions which it presents. After laborious deliberations, the Commission produced its report which might for all time to come be regarded as the standard work on University education in India. Its object is to nationalise the education of the country. It is still under the consideration of the Government, and not unlikely it will be made the basis of University education in other parts of India.

THE PUNJAB DISORDERS: THE FORERUNNER

It was Punjab's misfortune to have had a ruler in the person of Sir Michael O' Dwyer who was completely out of sym-

pathy with Indian political aspirations. Under his iron rule the patience of the Punjab had been sorely tried. He regarded self-government as a speculative abstraction which the people of the province over which he ruled, must never aspire to realise. He had no hesitation whatsoever to trample under foot the sacred right to the liberty of the Press, and considered the aid and assistance of an Executive Council, an embarrassment. In his evidence before the Sedition Committee, he had recommended the most drastic measures for the treatment of political offenders to defend whom in case of a prosecution was to incur his bitterest displeasure. A violent autocrat, he had little sense of self-respect and took a peculiar delight in giving unprovoked offence to educated Indians and apologising for the same under compulsion the very next moment. No other Governor having a grain of self-respect would adhere to his post under such circumstances. It was his conscience that had made a coward of him, and as such, he was determined, with all the authority and prestige of the British

Government at his back, to be feared by the helpless and unarmed people of the Punjab, if they could not love him. During the war the Punjab made the largest contribution towards the recruitment of man-power. All that is said to be under compulsion. The various war loans would have been total failures in the province but for Sir Michael's vigorous measures in the direction of forcing the people to subscribe to them. Such was the person under whose unsympathetic rule the Punjab groaned for five years, and such was the strong man of the Indian Civil Service who had to leave his province under cover of night like a thief, and again had to live and move like an escaped prisoner from station to station, and from house to house, when he visited this country a few months later in connection with the Army Commission at the head of which he had been placed by a grateful Government.

THE CAUSES—ADMINISTRATIVE:

(*a*) To the general unrest that prevailed in the Punjab in common with the rest of India no specific causes can be ascribed.

The desire for a larger voice in the Government of the country was greatly fostered by the dissemination in the press and on the platform of the doctrine of "self-determination" which formed so important a subject of discussion at the Peace Conference in Paris. Recruitment in the Punjab was so intensive that it was conscription in all but name. The Defence of India Act of 1915, and the rules made thereunder trenched upon the ordinary measure of liberty. Under it the executive acquired the power to interfere with individual liberty by deportation of individuals from a given locality, and to confine or intern them in a particular place; the power to create and authorise the creation of new offences, the power to set up special tribunals, and the power to exclude newspapers from prescribed areas and the power to control the press. The action of the Government in pressing forward and passing the Rowlatt Act is said to have been largely responsible for creating the feeling against Government which promoted the disorders. For, it must be remem-

bered that the opposition to the Rowlatt Bill was very widespread throughout India among both moderate and nationalist politicians. The Bill conferred extraordinary powers on the executive uncontrolled by the judiciary. The Government made it impossible for the people of the province to have a free interchange of independent views or a free ventilation of their grievances in the public press. Emergency legislation was used without reserve for the purpose of throttling political aspirations and public men were summoned and threatened. From his vantage ground the ruler of the Punjab hurled abuse at the educated classes and likened them to grasshoppers under a fern "who make a field ring with their importunate cries." The district officers were authorised to compel every individual on the income tax roll to subscribe to the war loans from one-half to one-fourth of the income on which he is actually assessed. Judicial processes were pressed into service and people unwilling to subscribe to the war loans were upon flimsy pretexts arrested.

THE CAUSES—EXTERNAL:

(*b*) In the meantime Mr. Gandhi started his SATYAGRAHA movement against administrative iniquities generally, and the Rowlatt Act in particular. According to him it means insistence on truth and force derivable from such insistence. Mr. Gandhi who is regarded by the entire Indian Community as a great personality started his SATYAGRAHA movement in Ahmedabad in February 1919, and on the 1st of March he published a pledge which ran as follows:—

> "Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill no. 1. of 1919 and the Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill no. 2 of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principles of Liberty and Justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of an individual on which the safety of India as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other

laws as the Committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in the struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."

It caught the fancy of the people for they took it to be passive disobedience and not civil disobedience. Meetings all over the country were held where the SATYAGRAHA vow was taken and in furtherance of its objects a general HARTAL throughout India was decided and acted upon on the 30th March and the 6th of April 1919. The Government issued instructions to all its officers to carry out the duty of maintaining the laws of the country, and dealing rigorously with all movements that endanger the the peace and prosperity of the great body of citizens. On the 8th of April Mr. Gandhi left Bombay for the Punjab to inaugurate his SATYAGRAHA movement, on the following day he was arrested at a station called Palwal on the frontiers of the Punjab and sent back to Bombay. The Governments of the Punjab and of Delhi under instructions from the Government

of India refused him admission into their jurisdiction. News of Mr. Gandhi's arrest spread like wild fire and a general HARTAL followed with violent outbreaks here and there and notably at Delhi and Ahmedabad. The people in the Punjab had no love for the Government as represented by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. They were thoroughly discontented. This discontentment became intensified by reason of high prices. They had expected better times in every way after the war. On the contrary, the termination of hostilities brought into prominent relief their own precarious position. The unrest thus caused was aggravated by the Khalifat agitation, the Mahomedans not without just cause distrusting the intentions of the British Government.

The Punjab had a complete HARTAL on the 6th April. It was a scene unparallelled in the History of the Punjab, and for that matter in that of India. On that day, the leaders and the people seemed to act as one man. There was complete fraternization between Hindus and Mahome-

dans. Resolutions were passed all over protesting against the Rowlatt Act and demanding its repeal. The demonstration of the 6th of April was a peaceful assertion of the people's will.

This however proved too much for Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He scented danger to the British rule in both the Hartal and the Hindu Mahomedan unity. To him it was an anti-British combination that must be broken at any cost. Thus, the Government was determined to crush all political consciousness by any means it could think of. It was prepared to goad the people to madness.

AMRITSAR

(*c*) It was at Amritsar that the goading process began. Amritsar is second in importance to Lahore, though in many respects it is more important even than Lahore. Its population numbers 160,000. It is the City of the golden temple, the greatest place of Sikh worship. Being the largest commercial centre in the Punjab and hav-

ing the Golden Temple it attracts travellers and visitors from all parts of the Punjab and even from outside.

About the middle of April marks the Hindu New Years's Day, when in Amritsar there takes place a cattle fair. The New Year's day is called the Baisakhi, the occasion being religious and commercial. Every year it draws crowds from far and near. The Baisakhi is preceded by the Ramnaumi celebration.

Amritsar observed the 6th of April. The Mahomedans, the Sikhs and the other Hindus belonging to all grades observed complete HARTAL. It was spontaneous and voluntary. The behaviour of the crowd was unexceptionable and there were no accidents to regret or to report.

The ninth of April was the Ramnaumi day. It is principally a Hindu religious function. But this time it was used for Hindu Mahomedan Unity. The Mahomedans took a leading part in it. Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal two of the leading men in Amritsar were among the organisers of the fraternisation. Long

before this the two leaders had risen into prominence by their public service.

THE DEPORTATIONS :

Orders were received at Amritsar late at night on the 9th April, and Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal were sent for on the 10th April by the Deputy Commissioner who served the orders on them and sent them away to an unknown destination in a motor car. The news spread throughout Amritsar like lightning. A crowd immediately gathered together. It was a crowd of mourners, bareheaded, many unshod, and all without sticks. It was on its way to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow to plead for the release of its respected and beloved patriots. It marched through the principal streets of Amritsar, passed by the National Bank, the Town Hall and the Christian Mission Hall, the very buildings which within a short time were to be destroyed by some of them. Its progress was however, stopped at the Railway carriage over-bridge which was guarded by military pickets. The men demanded pass-

age and said that they wanted to go to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow and make FARYAD—a prayer. They pushed forward, the picket fell back a little. They advanced, the military fired killing and wounding some of them; whereon the crowd fell back. It was no longer a peaceful crowd. It was a crowd foiled in its attempt to secure the release of its leaders and exasperated at the wounding and the killing of some of its members. These enraged men went to the Railway foot-bridge and some to the Hall Bazar, carrying the killed and the wounded. The sight of the wounded persons and dead bodies inflamed the citizens who saw them. Within a short time a large crowd was again seen near the carriage over-bridge, and the foot-bridge. This time it had armed itself with sticks and pieces of wood. Both the bridges were guarded by the military.

THE FIRING BEGINS

Meanwhile the members of the Bar, having heard of the uproar had offered

their services to the Deputy Commissioner with a view to intervention. They were permitted to intervene. On their arrival Mr. Plomer, the Deputy Superintendent of Police at Amritsar told them that a big crowd had gone towards the Railway yard. Some, therefore went in that direction and some remained near the bridges. Those that went to the Railway yard succeeded in clearing the crowd from it. Near the carriage over-bridge however, the position was more difficult. Messrs. Salaria and Maqbool Mahmood were trying on the one hand to reason with the crowd, and on the other hand to restrain the authorities from firing. At one time it appeared as if they would succeed, but some persons in the crowd threw stones or pieces of wood at the military who instantly fired, killing about twenty persons and wounding many. Messrs. Salaria and Maqbool Mahmood had themselves a narrow escape. The officer in charge expressed his regret for ordering the fire whilst they were in the crowd and trying to help the authorities by persuading the crowd to disperse. Mr. Maqbool

Mahmood then went to the Civil Hospital and brought Dr. Dhanpat Rai to render first aid to the wounded. The stretchers were brought from the hospital, but it is said that Mr. Plomer sent them away saying that the people would make their own arrangements.

THE MOB EXCESSES

It was stated that one Mrs. Easden on seeing the wounded laughed and said that the Hindus and Mahomedans had got what they deserved. Upon this a party forced its way into the hospital and tried to find out Mrs. Easden who had in the meantime concealed herself. The excited mob then sacked the National Bank and murdered Mr. Stuart the Manager, and Mr. Scott the Accountant. A railway guard, Mr. Robinson was brutally murdered. The mob then attacked the Alliance Bank, and upon Mr. Thompson, the manager firing revolver shots in self defence, became infuriated and murdered him, threw down his body and burnt the corpse with the Bank furniture. One Sergeant Rowland was

likewise cruelly murdered. The Town Hall, the Post office and the Mission Hall were burnt and so was a railway station. An attempt was made on the Chartered Bank without success, the Indian staff saving the situation. Miss Sherwood who was cycling down was brutally attacked but she was rescued by the father of one of her Indian pupils.

THE EFFECT

On the 11th, the charge of the city was handed over to the military of which General Dyer who arrived and established his head quarters at Rambagh, was in command. The first thing that the General did was to make arrests. He entered the city and made his arrests without molestation or resistance whatsoever.

THE DYER PROCLAMATION

On the 13th of April, in the morning at about 9-30 General Dyer entered the city with an escort and made a proclamation, It runs:—"No procession of any kind is

permitted to parade the city or any part of the city or outside of it any time. Any such procession or gathering of four men will be looked upon and treated as an unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms, if necessary."

This proclamation was read out by an interpreter in Punjabee and Urdu. At intervals, during General Dyer's progress through the city, which he says, occupied "2 or 3 hours" the drum was beaten to gather the people. A map was handed to the General indicating the places at which the proclamation was read, and he admitted that it was not read in many parts of the city. The 13th April, was, the Baisakhi, Hindu New Year's day and many people from surrounding villages were streaming in, who knew nothing of the proclamation.

THE MUTINY

At or about the time of this proclamation, a boy was announcing in the streets of Amritsar, by beating a tin can, that a meeting would be held at 4 P.M. at Jallian-

walla Bagh, and that Lala Kanhya Lal would preside at the meeting. There may be a question as to the exact time of this announcement by the boy.

At about 12-45 noon General Dyer was informed that a big meeting was to be held at Jallianwalla Bagh at 4-30 that very afternoon. General Dyer took no steps to prevent the meeting. He got definite information at 4 o'clock that the meeting was actually being held. Soon after he marched off towards the city with picketing parties consisting of 25 rifles of Gurkhas and 25 Sikhs. He had also 40 more Gurkhas armed with KHUKRIS and he took two armoured cars with him. He went at "ordinary walking pace."

JALLIANWALLA BAGH

What is Jallianwalla Bagh? The word Bagh is a misnomer. "Jalla" is the caste name of the original owner, "Walla" is the genetive termination and the Bagh meaning a garden, is really an open piece of waste land surrounded by houses. It was, at the time, a private property owned in common

by several people. It is an irregular quadrangle, indifferently walled and in most cases the back walls of the houses surrounding it enclose the quadrangle. There are three trees in the quadrangle, a dilapidated SAMADHI (tomb) with a dome and a well. The Main entrance is a narrow passage through which armoured cars happily could not pass or else as General Dyer admitted, he would have taken them in and set his machine guns in operation. There were no other regular entrances, but at four or five points it was possible to get out through narrow openings. The ground at the entrance is an elevation, remarkably fit for posting soldiers and firing upon a crowd in front. When therefore General Dyer marched into the Bagh with his 90 soldiers the crowd had no easy exit.

THE PRELIMINARIES

One Hans Raj prior to General Dyer's arrival was in possession of the audience estimated at 20,000. He and a few others were standing on an improvised platform.

An aeroplane was hovering over the meeting before the arrival of the troops. Hans Raj asked the meeting not to be afraid. The audience included many boys and children and some men had come with infants in their arms. The people had no LATHIES with them. There were some C. I. D. men also at the meeting. Two of them were seen talking to Hans Raj. General Dyer deployed 25 soldiers to the right and 25 to the left on the high ground on the north side of the rectangular space.

THE FEAST OF BLOOD

The exact figure of the death roll in the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre is not known, but it is variously estimated to be some where between 500 and 1000. It was a calculated piece of inhumanity towards utterly innocent and unarmed men including children and unparalleled for its ferocity in modern history even in the last European war.

THE HUMILIATIONS AND INDIGNITIES

1. All were made to SALAAM, in theory English officers only, but in practice every

Englishman, on pain of being arrested and suffering indignities.

2. Flogging was administered publicly and otherwise, even for trivialities.

3. All the lawyers of the town were made special constables without cause and made to work as ordinary coolies.

4. Indiscriminate arrests were effected of persons, irrespective of status, and during detention they were subjected to humiliations, discomforts and indescribable tortures for the purpose of extorting confession or evidence or for the purpose of merely humiliating them.

5. Special tribunals were formed for trying offences which resulted in gross injustice in the name of law leaving the aggrieved parties without a right of appeal.

THE CRAWLING ORDER

The lane in which the crawling took place is a narrow and thickly populated place with double story buildings on either side of it and with numerous blind alleys shooting out of it and containing several houses. For the inhabitants of the

lane, if they wanted to make any purchases or to go to the city, there was no option but to pass through some part of it and therefore to crawl in and out. Sanitary or medical service could only be rendered on condition of crawling. The full length of the lane in which the order was enforced was about 150 yards.

THE FLOGGING BOOTH

In the middle of it was the specially erected flogging booth. The order remained in force for 8 days. Although General Dyer has called it "going on all fours" and it has been called by Anglo Indians "hand and knee order" the process consisted in the persons lying flat on their bellies and crawling.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY.

The world, at any rate the Indian world was staggered at the atrocities perpetrated in the Punjab under the direct sanction of an English nobleman and a member of the most distinguished service in the East or in the West. The people of India naturally

wondered if the barbarities of which the German Huns were found guilty during the years of the war in Belgium and elsewhere and with which the publicity bureaus of the government, the Anglo-Indian papers and news-agencies regaled them *ad nuseam* exceeded those in the Punjab. In pronouncing our judgment upon this aspect of the case we must not lose sight of the fact, that the Germans were in a state of war with Belgium, that both were armed, while the Punjab was a subject country where the pepole were unarmed and admittedly not in a state of open rebellion, though politically excited. The report of the Parliamentary committee over which Lord Bryce presided is a severe condemnation of the Hun conduct in Belgium. A comparative study based upon the report of the Bryce committee on the one hand, and on the report of the Congress subcommittee of which the members amongst others were Messrs. Gandhi, C. R. Das and Abbas Tyabji, men in whose sense of justice and fairplay the entire people had implicit confidence, on the other, is an

edifying pursuit. It discloses the crude fact that an officer holding the King's Commission or the King's Covenant, can murder an unarmed populace in India, lawfully met for a lawful purpose, with the help of rifles and machine guns and bombs thrown down from aeroplanes, all with impunity and then to get rid all on a sudden.

GERMAN ATROCITIES

CONDUCT OF GERMAN TROOPS AT ANDENNE.

1. At 6 o'clock on the following morning, the 21st the Germans began to drag the inhabitants from their houses. Men, women and children were driven into the square where the sexes were separated. Three men were then shot, and a fourth was bayoneted.

(Bryce Committee's Report P. 15).

PUNJAB ATROCITIES

UNNECESSARY BLOODSHED.

1. Evidence of Mr. Maqbool Mahmood, High Court Vakil, before the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress:

" Salaria and I shouted out to the Deputy Commissioner and the officers to get back and not to fire, as we still hoped to take the crowd back. A few of the crowd threw wood and stones at the soldiers. The soldiers at once opened a volley of fire without any warning or intimation. Bullets whistled to my right and left. The crowd dispersed, leaving 20 or 25 killed and wounded. After the firing stopped, I went up to the soldiers and enquired if they had an ambulance car, or any first aid arrangements at hand. I wanted to run to the hospital which was

close by for help. The soldiers would not allow me. Mr. Seymour, however, let me go...........The Deputy Commissioner himself was present when the fire was opened. He knew that Salaria and I were members of the Bar, and were trying to get the people back to the city. It was by mere accident that our lives were saved, I still believe, if the authorities had a little more patiencc, we would have succeeded in taking the crowd back. It is a matter of regret that, when the authorities decided to fire, they did not make any arrangement for an ambulance car or first aid. I believe some of the wounded might have been saved if timely medical assistance had been forthcoming. After the first few shots, the crowd rushed back, but the firing was continued even after they began running away. Many of them were hit on the back. Most of the wounded were hit above the belt, on the face or on the head.—Congress Committies Report p. 50.

2. In the present war, however,—and this is the gravest charge against the German army—the evidence shows that the killing of non-combatants was carried out to an extent for which no previous war between nations claiming to

2. FIRING WITHOUT INTIMATION.

As against this we shall let General Dyer speak for himself.

Extract from General Dyer's evidence before the Hunter Committee about the shooting in the Jallianwala Bagh :

Q : When you got into the Bagh, what did you do?

A : I opened fire.

be civilised furnishes any precedent
Ibid—P. 40.

Q: At once?

A: Immediately. I had thought about the matter and don't imagine it took me more than 30 seconds to make up my mind as to what my duty was.

Q: As regards the crowd, what was it doing?

A: Well, they were holding a meeting. There was a man in the centre of the place on something raised. His arms were moving about. He was evidently addressing. He was absolutely in the centre of the square, as far as I could judge. I should say some 50 or 60 yards from where my troops were drawn-up.

3 (a) "Unarmed civilians were killed in masses at other places near the prison. About 90 bodies were seen on the top of one another in a grass square opposite the convent.—Ibid p. 19.

3. FIRING ON AN UNARMED MOB.

The General had admitted that there might have been a good many who had not heard of the proclamation. So Lord Hunter asked, "On the assumption that there was that risk of people being in the crowd who were not aware of the proclamation, did it not occur to you that it was a proper measure to ask the crowd to disperse before you took that step of actually firing'"?

A: No, at the time I did not. I merely felt that my orders had not been obeyed, that Martial Law was flouted, and that it was my duty to fire immediately by rifle.

Q: Before you dispersed the crowd, had the crowd taken any action at all?

A : No. Sir. They had run away, a few of them.

Q : Did they start to run away ?

A : Yes, When I began to fire, the big mob in the centre began to run almost towards the right.

Q : Martial Law had not been proclaimed. Before you took that step, which was a serious step, did you not consider as to the propriety of consulting the Deputy Commissioner who was the civil authority responsible for the order of the city ?

A : There was no Deputy Commissioner to consult at the time. I did not think it wise to ask any body further. I had to make up my mind immediately as to what my action should be. I considered it from the Military point of view that I ought to fire immediately, that if I did not do so, I should fail in my duty...

Q. In firing was it your object to disperse ?

A : No, Sir. I was going to fire until they dispersed.

Q : Did the crowd at once start to disperse as soon as you fired ?

A : Immediately.

Q : Did you continue firing ?

A : Yes.

Q : After the crowd indicated that it was going to disperse, why did you not stop ?

A : I thought it was my duty to go on until it dispersed. If I fired a little, I should be wrong in firing at all.

(*b*) Many of the inhabitants who were unarmed including women and young children were killed—some of them under revolting circumstances— Ibid p. 25.

(c) The village of Andenne had been isolated from the district on the left bank of the Meuse by the destruction of the bridge, and there is nothing to suggest that the firing on the left came from the inhabitants of Andenne. Almost immediately, however, the slaughter of these inhabitants began, and continued for over two hours and intermittently during the night, Machine guns were brought into play. The German troops were said to be for the most part drunk, and they certainly murdered and ravaged unchecked.

Ibid—p. 15.

DESCRIPTION OF AN EYE-WITNESS.

Extract from Lala Girdhari Lal's statement before the Congress Commission :

"I saw hundreds of persons killed on the spot. The worst part of the whole thing was that firing was directed towards the gates through which the people were running out. There were small outlets. 4 or 5 in all, and bullets actually rained over the people at all those gates, and.... many got trampled under the feet of the rushing crowds and thus lost their lives. Blood was pouring in profusion. " Even those who lay flat on the ground were shot .... No arrangements were made by the authorities to look after the dead or wounded.... the dead bodies were of grown up people and young boys also. Some had their heads cut open, others had eyes shot, and nose, chest, arms or legs shattered... I think there must have been over 1000 dead bodies in the garden then .... I saw people were hurrying up and many had to leave their dead and wounded, because they were afraid of being fired upon again after 8 P. M.—Ibid p. 55.

4. At Temploux on the 23rd Aug. a professor of modern languages at the College of Namur was shot at his front door by a German officer. Before he died he asked the officer the reason for this brutality and the officer replied that he had lost his temper because some civilians had fired upon the German as they entered the village.

4. REASONS FOR THE MASSACRE.

Extract from the speech of Mr. Miles Irving, Dy. Commissioner of Amritsar :

" You have committed a bad act in killing the English. The revenge will be taken upon you and your children."—Ibid—p. 59.

5. No body was allowed to go outside the church to obey the calls of nature. The church had to be used for the purpose.—Ibid p. 27.

5. DEFILING SACRED PLACES.

" The Pinjarapole, a sacred house for the care of animals, which was just at one end of the lane, was defiled. The wells in the lanes, were polluted by the soldiers easing themselves near them,—Ibid p. 63.

6. (*a*) Many civilians were marched to a field on the road to Lanwaine and kept there all night.—Ibid p. 24.

(*b*) The family were ordered out into the street. There they found another family and the two families were driven

6. HUMILIATION AND SUFFERING OF INNOCENT PERSONS.

(*a*) The street in which Miss Sherwood was assaulted was set apart for flogging people and for making those who passed through it to crawl on their bellies.—Ibid p. 60.

(*b*) Lala Rallya Ram, opium contractor Amritsar, had a house near the lane where people were made to

with their hands above their heads along the Rue Grande—Ibid p. 18.

crawl. He says in his statement before the Congress Commission:

"While I way crawling, they kicked me with their boots and also gave me blows with the butt-ends of their rifles. That day, I did not go back home to take my food...... For full 8 days not a single sweeper appeared; so the refuse of the houses was never removed, nor were the latrines cleaned. The water carrier, too, was throughout absent . . . . we could neither get vegetables nor other eatables."—Ibid p. 62.

(c) Lala Megha Lal, a cloth merchant says: "My house is in Kucha Kurichan (an alley from the crawling lane) and my shop is in Guru Bazar. On the very first day, soldiers were posted in Kucha Kurichan, I was stopped by the soldiers when I was returning home at about 5 P.M: and I was ordered to creep on my belly. I however ran away, and kept away till after the soldiers had left. That day, I came home at 9 P.M. and found my wife laid up with fever. There was no water in the house to be given to her, and no doctor and no medicine. I had to fetch water myself late in the night. For the seven days following, my wife had to be without anytreatment, as no doctor would like to creep on his belly."—Ibid p. 62.

(*d*) Kahan Chand has been blind for the last 20 years. He was made to crawl and was kicked.—Ibid p. 62.

FLOGGING FOR NOT SALAMING.

(*e*) Main Firoz Din, an Hony Magistrate says :—

"People used to be whipped for not standing up whilst 'salaming' the General and Mr. Plomer. Those, who did not 'salam,' were at times arrested. I saw a few cases of such whipping and of such arrests myself. The people were so terrified, that many had to keep standing practically the whole day, to prevent any mistake on their part and to avoid any such punishment. I say "practically" because they had to stand up every time they heard the sound of a motor car. I myself did so."—Ibid p. 63, 64.

(*f*) Six boys were flogged . . Each of them was fastened to the tiktiti (triangle) and given 30 stripes.

One of them Sundar Singh, "became senseless, after the 4th stripe, but, after some water was poured into his mouth by a soldier, he regained consciousness. Flogging was then resumed. He lost his consciousness for the second time, but the flogging never ceased till he was given 30 stripes. He was taken off the flogging post bleeding and quite unconscious. The other boys were similarly treated, and the majority of them became unconscious, while they were being flogged. They were all handcuffed and as could not walk even a few paces, they were dragged by the police. They were then taken to the fort." —Ibid p. 64.

7 UNNECESSARY INDIGNITIES.

7. This taking of the inhabitants including some of the influential citizens, in groups and marching them to various places, and in particular sending them to Melines and the despatch of great numbers to Cologne must evidently have been done under the direction of the higher military authorities. Bryce Committees Report —I bid p. 35.

(*a*) General Dyer in his evidence has said that the lawyer constables did useful service and Mr. Kitchin has said that they rather liked it. Let us see what the lawyers themselves have to say about their appointment and the nature of the services they had to render. We have already referred to Lala Kanhya Lal. He is the oldest lawyer of Amritsar. Even he did not escape the distinction. He says :—" I have to add that along with all the members of the local bar, I was compelled to act as a special constable. This appointment was made on the 22nd of April, when there was absolutely no necessity for such appointment, for the maintenance of peace and order in the city. The police force was quite sufficient for the purpose and, as a matter of fact, the city was quiet on those days. In my old age I was made to work like a coolie, carrying tables and chairs from one place to another, and to patrol the city in the hot sun. The abuse, which was showered upon us, and the indignities to which we were put, added a great deal to our sufferings. I cannot believe that our appointment was necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. The order was meant to punish us. The local bar takes part in public affairs and took a prominent part in the Rowlatt Act agitation; that is why the whole bar

was punished in this way.—Ibid p. 64.

EXTRACTING FALSE EVIDENCE BY TORTURE.

(*b*) Seth Gul Mohammad, a glassware merchant, was arrested on the 20th April, whilst he was offering prayer, and taken to the 'Kotwali.' He was asked to give false evidence. Inspector Jawaharlal caught hold of his beard and slapped him so hard that it made him reel for a while. He then asked him to state "Doctors Satyapal and Kitchlew had instigated me to bring about the 'hartal' on the 6th and that they had encouraged me, by saying that they would use bombs to drive out the English from the country." The witness refused. The officer then asked his underlings to take him aside and make him "alright." He was then taken away a few paces from the officer's table and asked by a number of constables to please Jawaharlal by doing what he wanted. He still refused. So they caught hold of his hand and placed it under the leg of a cot, over which eight constables sat. "When the pain became unbearable," the witness proceeds. "I cried out, leave my hand, I will do whatever you ask me to do." He was then taken to Jawaharlal again. But he again refused to implicate the Doctors. He was therefore kept confined in a room that day. During the

two following days he was beaten, slapped and caned. He was told that he would be made an accused and hanged. The beating went on for eight days, he again agreed to make the desired statement. He was then taken to Aga Ibrahim, the Magistrate, before whom he repeated the same "untrue statement," that was required of him. Hansraj, the approver, who was alone in the 'Kotwali' advised him to do as the police asked. After ten days' detention he was let off, on the condition that he appeared at the 'Kotwali' from day to day, which he did up to the 9th of June, when he was taken to Lahore. On the 16th June, he was produced before the Martial Law Tribunal, where he made a clean breast of the whole thing and told the Judges that he was tortured.—Ibid p. 69.

(c) Gholam Jilani, and 'Imam' (leader at prayer) of 'Masjid' and deedwritter, is perhaps the worst case of tortuere we have come across He took a prominent part in organizing the Ram Naumi festival. He was arresteed on the 16th April. The statement contains such a wealth of detail, that it must be read in toto in order to appeciate the measure of torture tbat the Imam had to under go (St. 134). Mian Firoz Din. Hony Magistrate (St. 2) and Mr. Gholam Yaseen, Barrister (St. 6) support what is stated about his treatment by the witness. Mo-

hammad Shafi (St. 139) saw some of the tortures that Gholam Jilani was subjected to and heard his piteous cries. He says that, on the same day, one Khair Din was similarly treated, his condition became so bad that he never recovered from the injuries he had received (St 139). Mian Quamar Uddin Khan, landlord and proprietor says Maulvi Gholam Jilani met him immediately after his release. He saw the injuries which were received by him and that the story that he related to him then is the same as he has given before us (St. 140). Gholam Mohammad witnessed the torture on him and on Khair Din, who, he says, died a few days ago of the injuries (St. 138). Haji Shamasuddin, landlord and zemindar, also witnessed the tortures administered to Maulvi Gholam Jilani and late Khair Din. The Haji was called by the police. He says. "They drove a stick into his anus. Also he was in a most pitiable condition. I saw his urine and excreta coming out. All of us, who were outside, were told by the police that those who did not give evidence, would be treated like that" (St. 135). Witness 136–137 also corroborate the statement about torture to which both Jailani and Khair Din were subjected. Malig Abdull Hai, merchant of Pashmina on receipt of a telegram from the Supdt of Police went from Lahore to Amritsar about the 15lh of May and, there, he was

given over to Inspector Jawaharlal who tempted him with reward by increment in his pay, if he would give false evidence against Dr. Kitchlew. When he refused, he was threatened that he would be included amongst the accused. When all the threats and persuations failed, he was taken to a room and thrashed "mercilessly." Being frightened, he eventually yielded.

(d) Mr. Mahommad Amin, a pleader is the father of Mahommad Akram, who was sentenced to death; a sentence which was subsequently commuted to 5 year's rigorous imprisonment, in connection with the attempt to assault Mrs. Easden. He claims personal friendship with Mrs. Easden, and in his statement attached hereto, he contends that his son, who looked up to Mrs. Easden as his mother, was totally innocent on the 20th April, he with his son and brother, was arrested and taken to the Kotwali. He says. "I was taken by a constable to the door of the 'Havalat.' A small room as it was, it contained not less than 30 unfortunate men, It was a horrible sight to see them stretching out their arms out of the iron bars and praying for a drink of water. I was going to faint at the sight. I said to a policeman 'I have no objection to going in, but I must tell you that I shall not be able to live there for a quarter of an hour.' He went to the Inspector and shortly after came back and took me to another room

where I found Dr. Bashir and Mr. Badrul Islam Ali Khan, Barrister-at-Law. From this room they took out some persons and put us, 6 newcomers, in their place. Never in my life have I ever seen a dirty place like this. Most of us kept sitting all through the night. We prayed that we might be allowed food from our houses for that one evening only, but it was refused. We asked for coverings, but they too were denied to us. After a short time, a policeman came to Gama and in our presence said, why do you put your life in danger? Name 4 or 5 men with whom you have some enmity, we shall make you a witness.' Gama said, I have no enemy to name.' The policeman went away, but after a few minutes he reappeared and said to him, 'look here, name Qayam, and as to others say what you please." We got extremely frightened at the way the police were fabricating false evidence and thought that we were not safe.' The witness describes the condition in the jail. They were kept hand-cuffed in their cells in pairs and thus led even to the latrines. They begged for the removal of the hand-cuffs, whilst they were actually in the latrines but it was of no use. They were compelled to walk round and round in the hot sun, we imagine for exercise? They were given no food for 36 hours and they were made to sleep on the bare floor. The handcuffs were at a later stage

removed. " The food, which we were expected to take, was a little heap of gram in one corner and a bucket of drinking water in the other, while near by, was a tinpot for passing water. We could not take that food and kept hungry for another day." The things improved the next day. They were allowed to have their own food and a change of clothes. Thus they remained at the fort for 22 days. On the 12th of May, they were taken to Lahore to stand their trial. There were 52 men chained together. In Lahore, they were made to sit out the whole day, without drink or food. They had to walk from the Lahore station to the court and from the Court to the Central Jail in the burning Sun. He and his brother were discharged on the 27th of May —Ibid p. 68.

THE CURFEW ORDER AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Many of those who broke the Curfew order, knowingly or unknowingly, reasonably or unreasonably, were publicly whipped like common and incorrigible criminals. —Ibid. 81.

GERMAN ATROCITIES

8. The German troops both in Bel-

8. HONESTY OF BRITISH OFFICERS.

Certain shopkeepers who had supplied the military with rations, sent in to the authorities a list of

gium and France are proved to have been guilty of persistent looting.—Ibid—P. 55,

the articles supplied. The reply sent by the Superintendent of Police, Gujranwala, was :—"It be sent to the Sub-Inspector with the direction that this money can under no circumstances be realized now. The applicants be made to understand that they shall not trouble us again and again."—Ibid P. 137.

9. We have already referred to the case of Aerschat where the women and children were herded in a church and denied the common decencies of life.—Ibid P. 48.

In other cases the women and children were marched for long distances along roads, the laggards pricked on by attendant Uhlans. A lady complained of having been brutally kicked by privates, others were struck with the butt end of rifles.—Ibid P. 48.

9 OUTRAGE ON WOMEN

(*a*) Statement of Balochan, daughter of Sadrang Nat Pairni, Ram Bagh Gate, Katra Shair Singh, Amritsar before the Congress Commitee :

"During the Martial Law days, I, along with others, was arrested and taken to the Police Station. They asked us to give up the looted property of the Bank. Pahna, Rakhi, and Rani were also told the same. We all were most indecently treated. I was asked to take off my trousers which I had to do under Police pressure. My sister, Iqbalan. was subjected to the same treatment, All the policemen laughed and enjoyed this. We were allowed to go home at about 10 in the night, but called again at 6 in the morning. This continued for about five days. At times, sticks were pushed into our vagina. We all were beaten with cane and abused constantly."—congress committee's Report Vol II P. 194.

10. A witness gives a story, very circumstantial in its details, of how women were publicly raped in the market place of the city, five young German officers assisting—Ibid p. 4s.

10. THE STATEMENT OF GANGA DEVI, OF KOOTI CHHAN LANE, AMRITSAR.

(*a*) "My house is in the third part of Kooti Chhan lane. For eight days, we did not leave the house. We bolted our doors in fear. If we took something to eat in the evening, we could get no water. The cries of those who were being flogged. "Oh mother I am dead" reached even our house and pierced our hearts. My daughter became senseless. If, at any time, we happened to stand by our window, the soldiers insulted us by exposing themselves and threw bricks at our house. There was hardly any food, no water and we were very much afraid of the rude soldiers."—Report Vol II p. 178, 179.

(*b*) Extract from the statement of Mrs. Lachman Kour of Amritsar:

I am a purdanashin. I never appear in public, not even before the servants. I was, however, called down from my house. I went with a pardah (veil). I was peremptorily ordered to take off my pardah. I was frightened and removed the pardah. I was then asked who assaulted Miss Sahib. They threatened me that unless I named the assailant, I would be given over to the soldiers. I said, I did not know and could not name any body falsely.

Report Vol II p. 177.

(c) The statement of Teja Singh, son of Amir Singh, Virk aged 55,

part proprietor of Manianwala village, district Gujranwala.

The day on which Mr. Bosworth Smith came to our village in the morning and collected the women together, I was present in the "Daira." I had not then left for the Bungalow, where most of the villagers had gone by order of the Police. It was in my presence that Mr. Bosworth Smith gave a severe beating to Munshi Nawab Din and Lehna Singh. He asked them to give evidence against Bhai Mul Singh, forcing them to say that the latter had delivered a speech against the Government. After placing them in the custody of a constable who was ordered to take them to the Bungalow, Mr. Bosworth Smith went towards the women. He removed their veils and used abusive lauguage. He called them flies, bitches, she asses, and worse things. He said to them: "Your skirts will be examined by the police constables. When you were sleeping with your husbands, why did you allow them to get up and go?" He also spat at them.

Ibid p. m. 865-6.

11. WHIMSICAL FLOGGING OF SCHOOL BOYS.

Extract from Col. MacRae's evidence before the Hunter Committee:—

Q:—As regards the whipping of school boys you gave directions that the biggest six boys were to be selected for whipping?

A :—Yes, generally speaking.

Q :—Their misfortune was that they happened to be big ?

A :—Of course.

Q :—Because they were big, therefore they had to suffer these lashes ?

A :—Yes.

Q :—Do you think it was a reasonable thing to do ?

A :—I thought so under the circumstances, and I still think so.

12. BOMBING INNOCENT PEOPLE FROM AEROPLANES.

This is how a student in the Khalsa Boarding House describes the scene : "We heard the noise of aeroplanes at about 3 p, m......They remained hovering over the Boarding House for about 10 minutes... ...Suddenly a noise was heard and a shell came down which struck our confectioner Ganda Singh............ A small piece of it injured the finger of my right hand. A boy fell down on account of the shock."

According to the evidence given by Captain Carbery before Lord Hunter's Committee his orders were "to disperse crowds going or coming." So far as the bomb-throwing in the Khalsa Boarding House is concerned, there was no crowd either going or coming, there was no meeting and it appears to us that there was no necessity whatsoever for throwing bombs in the Khalsa Boarding House, and it was by a stroke of good luck only that no lives were lost.

It is interesting to find, from the officers concerned, how they dropped bombs and fired machine guns. People were bombed who were running back to their village, when the firing was started. The following dialogue took place between the Hunter Committee and the officer.

Q:—You first bombed, and they begau to run away into the village ?

A:—Yes.

Q.—That is over the houses in the village ?

A:—Yes. I suppose some of the shots hit the houses.

Q:—The people were running away, they dispersed and got into some houses ?

A:—Yes.

Q :—You fired machine gun into the village; you may be thereby hitting not those people whom you dispersed, but other innocent people into their houses ?

A :—I could not discriminate between the innocent people and other people. I tried to shoot the people, who ran away and who I thought were coming to do damage.

Q :—The result of bombing was that they dispersed ?

A :—Yes

Q :—They ran into the village ?

A :—Yes.

Q :—Was not your object accomplished ? Where was the need of firing machine gun indiscriminately into the village ?

A ;—The machine gun was not fired indiscriminately. I shot at the

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men who were running away. I said, the crowd scattered and ran back into the village and I fired at the men.

The officer says he was at a height of 200 feet. He could see "perfectly well." To the question "What was the further need of machine gunning them and killing them", the prompt reply was, "To do more damage".—Ibid p. 107-8.

13. FLOGGING FOR NOT SALAMING EUROPEANS AT WAZIRABAD

Dr. Daulat Singh late Secretary of the local Arya Samaj says in his statement that if any person did not "salam" a European by mistake or oversight, he had his turban taken off his head and tied round his neck. He was dragged to the camp by the military. There he was either fined or flogged. (Sts. 308 and 313.) One witness states that although he had salamed, but because his salam was not noticed, he was made to kiss the shoes of the officer in question. (St. 319.) This evidence is abundantly corroborated by many witnesses.—Ibid p. 113.

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14. POLICE MILITARY ZULUM AT CHUHARKANA

Ganpat Mal says :—They took away anything they saw for their ration. Hens, eggs, goats and milk all these, were forcibly snatched from the people. The police men came to the people and ask-

> ed for beddings, which people had to give because they were very much afraid. Until now they have not been returned. The police took buffalo milk forcibly from me and nothing was left for my children. I gave one bedding, which has not been returned to me as yet......During the Martial Law days, I had to pay Rs. 25 from "mandi" side, and Rs. 10 from the village side, for defraying the expenses of the Military rations.—(Ibid p. 137.)

Parallel instances could be multiplied at infinitum but what is of the highest importance to the self-respect of the Indian people is that General Dyer was permitted unblushingly to declare before the Hunter Committee that he would repeat his heroic deeds if again an occasion arose. No doubt he meant that provided he was backed by a nincompoop member of the British House of Peers like Lord Chelmsford and a villainous member of the order of the knighthood holding the King's Covenant.

THE COMMITTEES OF ENQUIRY

To enquire into the causes of the Punjab disorders and the massacres two separate

committees were appointed in October 1919. One was the official and the other the non-official.

THE OFFICIAL COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY

(*a*) The official Committee to investigate the recent disturbances in Bombay, Delhi and the Punjab, their causes and the measures taken to cope with them was composed of 8 gentlemen of whom three were Indians and five Englishmen including one Lord Hunter who was specially brought out from England to preside over it. This Committee toured round the provinces of Bombay, Delhi and the Punjab, and gathered considerable quantity of evidence from official and voluntary sources. In the course of the evidence it became quite clear that, the evidence which was put forward by the Government was manufactured for the purpose of the Committee. The evidence offered by the victims of the iniquitous measures taken by the Government were at complete variance with that offered by the witnesses brought by the authorities. This was

specially so in the Punjab where the political leaders had been deported during the disturbances. The Committee of the Indian National Congress resolved to assist this Committee in order to enable them to come to a correct conclusion as to whether sedition or rebellion in any form whatsoever existed in the Punjab. The Congress Comittee desired the temporary release on adequate security of the leaders so that, they might lead evidence on their behalf. The request was refused. Thereupon, the Congress Committee declined to offer other evidence than they had already adduced, and moreover refused to take part in the proceedings of the Committee; for, they judged that their presence there, would only serve to embarrass them, in the absence of an opportunity to take advantage of valuable materials which the deportees should be able to place in their hands. In the meantime, all India was looking forward to the evidence of the Heroes of the Tragedy, General Dyer, Colonel Frank Johnson, Major Carberry among the military, and Miles Irving,

Bosworth Smith and Michael O'Dywer (the Lieutenant-Governer) among Civilians. Dyer's evidence astounded the world in that, he admitted before the Committee that to disperse the unarmed crowd who had gathered to hold a meeting it was not at all necessary for him to open fire, but he did it in order to strike terror not only in the city of Amritsar, but throughout the Punjab and his conduct, such as it was, was highly approved of by the head of the Province whose evidence along with that of his Secretary was taken *in Camera*, so that the world will never be the wiser for it. Every European witness, that was brought in, was deliberately defiant in his attitude towards the Indian members of the Committee without being called on to behave himself as a gentleman by either the President or his European colleagues. Meanwhile, by the Royal Proclamation of the 25th of December 1919, announcing the enactment of the Government of India Act (of 1919), otherwise called the Reforms Act, amnesty was extended to the political leaders where-

upon the Indian National Congress Committee made a fresh offer to lead non-official evidence provided the official witnesses were recalled for cross-examination when necessary. Needless to say that the Hunter Committee declined to accept the offer. People in India had no longer any misgiving about the conclusions the committee meant to arrive at. The Englishman knew that the five European members of the Committee if they had any loyalty to their own blood would white-wash the miscreants and the three Indians if they had any sense of justice in them would sign a minority report, the moral effect of which, it would be difficult for any Government, however strong to .withstand. And so it was.

THE NON-OFFICIAL COMMITTEE

(*b*) As soon as it became evident that the Hunter Committee or the Majority of them were pulling in favour of the perpetrators of the atrocities, the Indian National Congress appointed a committee of the people to hold an enquiry into them and they

published their report as well as the evidence on which such report was based. They had moreover the whole volume of evidence recorded by the official Committee in addition to what was supplemented before them by the sufferers themselves. This Committee comprised the names of individuals like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. C. R. Das who held the cream of both civil and criminal practice in Bengal in his hands. Whatever may be the difference of their political opponents with them, we know that they were men who would write nothing that was not truth. The Anglo-Indians as usual said, that there was nothing new in the evidence, and the report made recommendations which the Congress had already adopted as resolutions. But what they failed to see was that the official version too was one-sided, and as a corrective to it at least, such an unofficial enquiry was absolutely necessary. The Anglo-Indians counselled suspension of judgment till the Hunter report was published but did not themselves

observe golden silence or refrain from condemning the Congress report which was published about a month sooner than the official report. The Congress report added nothing to the narratives of General Dyer and Colonel Frank Johnson. It added nothing to the heartless, cruel and insolent statements made by many another lesser officer. The European community in India argued that if General Dyer should be condemned, the military would feel that they could no longer rely upon civil authorities for support. There was a plausible reply to that argument and it was that if the General was not condemned there would be a fearful outburst of Indian opinion and sentiment. It was feared however, that neither of those arguments would suit the mind of an unbiassed student of political histroy. Certainly judgment was not to be delivered with an eye to what the army or the Indian people would think. In one case it would be the shibboleth of prestige with which the bureaucratic Government in India is obsessed. In the other it would be pandering to

the prejudices of a population. Both courses would be equally erroneous. One Anglo-Indian paper of Calcutta said that it hoped that truth would prevail in the end. India said "Amen" for it was in the spirit of truth-seeking that the question must be handled. Of one thing the Indian people were certain, that there was no rebellion in the Punjab. To be convinced on that point one need refer neither to the Congress report nor to the Hunter report. Officials themselves admitted that all they wanted was to teach a lesson to the agitators. It was this spirit that was responsible for the whole trouble in the Punjab. It was impossible to blame General Dyer alone. He did the ugly work of teaching that lesson and he did it because the moral support of all the Britishers in India was behind him. He did nothing at which Anglo-India was shocked; and therefore to condemn him alone was useless. The attitude of the whole of Anglo-India and the way in which the European and official members of the legislative Council of the Governor General and even the members

of his executive Council suffered themselves to behave did not at all contribute to heal up the wound or the breach. To allot special value to the life of an Englishman as no less a person than Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India did and a lesser value to an Indian life was not a particularly happy thing to do at a time when the King's gracious proclamation made quite clear the goal of British policy in India. That was the crux of the whole matter. They talked of Co-operation but forgot that the first thing essential to co-operation was to look upon the party with whom you propose to co-operate as your equal.

THE INDEMNITY ACT

The Punjab tragedy which on the admission of the Home member himself, but made long afterwards on the 15th of February 1921, and not until the Government of India discovered that the verdict of the civilised world was against them was, "the most unhappy episode in the History of British Rule in India" was

soon followed by an Act of Indemnity rushed through the Council with an indecent haste. When on the 18th of September 1919, the member-in-charge of the Bill (Sir William Vincent) stood up in his place in the Council to introduce it, the whole Country sat in amazement at the audacity and the shamelessness of bureaucrat in India. The purpose of the Bill was to protect those officers of the Government who were guilty of brutal excesses in suppressing the alleged disturbances whether in good or bad faith. That the greater part of all those was in bad faith cannot have been unknown to the Government of Lord Chelmsford for Sir Sankar Nair the member-in-charge of Education had already resigned his office as a protest against the iniquitous and harsh conduct of the administration, for which the retiring Viceroy and the strong man of the Indian Civil Service Sir Michæl O'Dwyer were principally responsible. The resigntion of Sir Sankar who has always been a man of sober political views, cannot have failed to impress upon the Central Govern-

ment that behind all the misrepresentations of the Punjab Government there was something so serious that no right thinking and self respecting person, even though he belonged to the subject race, and having full consciousness of the fact that he was there in his place on sufference could neither tolerate nor look on as a spectator without a word of challenge or protest. For all that the Government of Lord Chelmsford was bent upon indemnifying its white officers, no matter what the monstrosities they might have committed. A great debate however, ensued over the bill in the Legislative Council, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya leading the opposition with a courage, fearlessness and grasp of details that would do credit to the ablest parliamentarian whether of to-day or of yester-day. Much disappointment was felt in the country by reason of the fact that stalwarts in our National politics such as Babu now Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee and Sir Dinshaw Wacha were in no sense uncompromising opponents of the Bill, not even its critics. Indeed from their

attitude they might have been taken for warm supporters of the bill. Pandit Malviya alone fought for the honour and self-respect of his motherland, and his erstwhile political friends allowed the bill to be placed upon the statute book.

THE ZID OF THE GOVERNMENT

The appointment of the Hunter committee was a piece of diplomatic device which would have reconciled Indian opinion ten years ago. Since the days of Lord Curzon the country has had so many committees and commissions without any tangible result in the direction of improved administration that the Indian people refused to set a premium upon their conclusions. Of the two however, a royal commission was preferable. In the interest of the Government of India a Committee was the best thing they should have appointed having regard to the fact that they were so eggregiously implicated in the whole affair that nothing short of a Royal Commission would have had the courage and sense of

fairplay to deal with the conduct both of the Government of the Punjab and of India. . Pandit Madan Mohan therefore was more a friend than a critic of the Government when he moved in the Council the appointment of a Royal Commission to report to the Imperial Government rather than a Committee to report to the Government of India. The motion offered the first occasion of an encounter between an obstinate and a stubborn Government and the popular leaders. Malaviya was fiercely attacked by the bureaucracy, his facts were discounted and as against them others were flourished with great solemnity by official representatives who were proved by the publication of the Hunter report to have had poor regard for truthfulness. There is no reason to suppose that they were not deliberately suppressing the truth and suggesting falsehood and this with the knowledge or at least the connivance of the first English gentleman in India, himself a peer of the realm. The motion was rejected, the whilom Indian *patriots* voting

against it. Little did they realise that the Government was sitting in judgment over their own actions as the magistrate of an Indian District sits in judgment over a complaint made by or against the police of which he is the official head.

INDIA IN ENGLAND

With the coming in of America into the War to bring the Germans down on their knees, President Wilson, who had the misfortune of being called all manner of names and likened to a sermonising old woman, for he had been a teacher all his life, and now had the good fortune of being acclaimed as the greatest and most potent personality in History by the English Press and the English people, dilated on fourteen points, for which he stood and which he was determined to press upon the peace conference, the principle among them being, the Freedom of the Seas, the League of Nations and the Doctrine of the Self-Determination of Nations. The last one in particular, caught the fancy of the Indian people as it did of the Egyptians,

and in fact of every other subject race. The periodical Imperial War Conferences had been sitting. To these two notable appointments as delegates were made, from year to year that of Sir S.P. (now Lord) Sinha to represent, it was claimed, the people of India, and alternately the Maharajas of Bikaneer and Patiala to represent the princes and historic houses of India. The idea of a political conference of colonial premiers took practical shape early in the nineties of the last century and the first meeting of the Imperial Conference took place in 1897. Since then they met in London periodically in 1902, 1907 and 1911, to discuss with the British Cabinet, outstanding questions of administrative and general questions of political relations. Hitherto the Secretary of State for India attended the meetings of the conference not as a member thereof, nor as a representative of India, but on behalf of the India office. The whole idea was that India was not regarded as an equal partner. It was Lord Hardinge who during the years of the war asserted her right to be

represented in the conference. Broad-minded as Lord Hardinge was, he would assuredly have asked the people of India to elect through the Legislative Councils representatives of their own, had he stayed on. A politician of indifferent sagacity, narrow views and meagre outlook, Lord Chelmsford dared not disturb the existing arrangement which was that the so-called Indian representatives attended the conference unlike the Colonial premiers, not independent of the Secretary of State for India but only as his supporters. As delegates they could not very well assent to those rights which the Colonial premiers as representatives of the people could. And what is true of the Imperial conference is also true of the War and the Peace Conferences. Historically the raising of Sir S. P. Sinha to the peerage of the realm was a great honour to his person and a compliment to the nation. Whatever may be his politics there can be no two opinions about the fact that Lord Sinha is a most estimable person, more so than most other peers of the realm. A

man who from a struggling barrister 30 years ago had by dint of ability, probity and force of character risen to a position never attained by any Indian during two hundred years of British Rule in India surely is a person who deserves the highest respect and admiration of the entire civilised world. Be that as it may, the conclusion is irresistable that Mr. Montagu backed by the Cabinet was eager to carry the Reform Bill through the House of Lords where the services of one of the ablest, if not the ablest and most distinguished of Advocates in India as its pilot would be invaluable, while his appointment as Under Secretary of State might appeal to the imagination of India and reveal to the World that the British Government is not chary about doing what the greatest Mogul Emperor did in the sixteenth century. It is said to have rejoiced the heart of India for it was the first time that a native of India had figured in the British Government even though he was neither in the Cabinet nor a minister of the Crown, which those unacquainted with the English

constitution supposed that he was. Lord Sinha however, failed to realise the legitimate expectations of his people in the Dyer debate in the House of Lords, and the question was naturally asked whether he did greater injustice to himself than to India. A fund of several lakhs of rupees was being raised by Europeans and Anglo-Indians in India and England for presentation to the hero of the massacres in Amritsar in appreciation of his services while the Congress, Home Rule and other deputations headed by persons like Messrs. Tilak, Chintamony and Pal and Mrs. Beasant were unsparing in their condemnation of the Punjab disasters even though the voice of Mr. (now Sir) Surendra Nath Banerjee once upon a time the people's Tribune, which had already become very feeble, was not heard at all. Lord Sinha's best services were in the direction of the Reforms Act of the joint Committee of which he was a member. By his astute cross-examination of illiberal and reactionary official witnesses he elicited facts which undoubtedly liberalised the

projected legislation such as we have it to-day. If the bill of November 1919 is a decided improvement upon that which was presented by Secretary Montagu earlier in the year in May Lord Sinha is responsible for it. But the most daring thing for the leader of the Congress deputation in England, even more daring than the representation of Dr. (then Sir) Subramanya Iyer to President Wilson regarding the enslaved position of the Indians in the Empire over which there was an unseemly altercation between the ex-judge of Madras and the Viceroy in which the successful lawyer had the better of the unsuccessful, was to have offered to serve on the Peace Conference as the representative of the Indian people on the basis of the doctrine of the self-determination of Nations. Needless to say that the offer was not entertained.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1919.

On the 25th of December His Majesty the King Emperor graciously signed his assent to an epoch making measure—the

Act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the parliament of England—for the better Government of India, and the greater contentment of her people. The Acts of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the East India Company. The Act of 1833 opened the door for Indians, to public office and employment. The Act of 1858 transferred the administration from the Company to the Crown and laid the foundations of public life which exist in India to-day. The Act of 1861 sowed the seed of representative institutions and the seed was quickened into life by the Act of 1909. The Act which has now become law entrusts elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the Government and points to the way to full responsible government hereafter. If as is confidently hoped the policy which the Act inaugurates should achieve its purpose the results will be momentous in the history of human progress.

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION

His Majesty announced to the people of India in a message the passing of the Act and his heartfelt sympathy with Indian political ambition and extension of clemency to political offenders. That the angle of vision had changed would be evidenced by the fact that a few months previous to the passing of the Act Sir S. P. Sinha was raised to the British Peerage as Baron Sinha of Raipur (in the District of Birhoom in Bengal), with a hereditary seat in the House of Lords, and was appointed the Under Secretary of State for India, the first appointment of its kind in history. Lord Sinha has since been (1920) appointed the Governor of the province of Bihar and Orissa under the new Act. It was announced further that H. R. H. the Prince of Wales would visit this country in the winter of 1920 as His Majesty's representative to inaugurate the Reforms.

DEATH OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

On the first of August 1920 India lost the

greatest of her modern patriots in the person of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. His death was widely mourned not only by his own countrymen but by the educated world at large, for whatever differences of opinion may exist as to his political principles, there is no gainsaying the fact that during his lifetime he made valued and substantial contributions to the domain of thought. His vedic researches earned him a European reputation and will be always looked upon as enduring monuments of a laborious life and his countrymen with legitimate pride will claim them as a precious national heritage. In politics Mr. Tilak was always ahead of his contemporaries. Once a Congressman of the old School, he far outstripped his colleagues in no time and at Surat in 1907 he measured his strength with them and came out victorious. His whilom colleagues condemned his action as iconoclastic while his friends hailed it as the dawn of a new era.

If there was a name to charm with not only in India but on the continent of Europe and in the learned Societies all the

world over, if there was an Indian who by the brilliance and versatility of his intellect as also by the simplicity and purity of his private life fully justifies the claim in the eyes of all critics to the honour of being a descendant of the ancient Rishis and Munis who like a constellation shed the light of their philosophical wisdom on the dark spots of Mundane existence distracted as it is by the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest, if there was in India one who deserved to be universally acknowledged as the guide friend and philosopher of all men; that man was most undoubtedly Bal Gangadhar Tilak to whom by common consent had been voluntarily conferred the honorific title of "Lokamanya." Born in 1856 of respectable parents, educated at the University of Bombay, he did not follow the profession of a High Court Vakil, which he was qualified to do and eminently equipped to shine in. He paid no thought to the acquisition of wealth and civic honours in the usual way. He took to teaching, to journalism and to the duties, responsibili-

ties and troubles of Public Life. His political opinions, disliked at first by the official heirarchy, have found acceptance everywhere in this continent and are reflected in the demands made for responsible Government in India. His writings, vernacular and English, are voluminous. They cover a range from hoary antiquity to the event of the present day, and deal with a variety of topics which would be beyond the limits of this review. Suffice it to say that the learned astronomer, the abstruse sentimentalist, the erudite historian, the abstract-minded philosopher seeking for the rule of life, and in quest of the eternal distinction between right and wrong, and the practical politician constantly engaged in ameliorating the condition of mankind in the turmoils of the present day life, will each find enough to occupy him long and learn great deal from. No Indian had suffered more for his country, and all India went out as one man to do honour to the memory of one who loved his motherland dearly for it was in her past that he saw her future.

THE SITUATION

Next to the Punjab atrocities the question that agitated the public mind most was that of the Khalifat and the Holy places of Islam regarding which there is deep-rooted sentiment among the Mahomedans of India. Ever since 1918 English papers of every political hue have insistently demanded that the terms of peace with Turkey must be very stringent and that she should be made to repent for her rash acts. Some of them went so far as to dictate to the Government that Turkey should be politically extinguished which the prime minister of England had held out hopes that she should be made to regret, not suffer, for what may now be turned her political blunder in having come into the war at all. The prime minister no doubt meant what he said, and intended to deal with Turkey more leniently than she would otherwise be, only to appease the Mahomedan sentiment in India. As soon as it became apparent that things were not going all in her favour and that it was the intention of the allied

powers to deal with Turkey more severely than either Germany or Austria, to deprive her of her European dominion, and to reduce her to an insignificant position, Mahomedan sentiment became restive and advanced opinion was that the views of the moselms were neglected by the British Government and the allies. "As it was with the educated classes in the matter of constitutional aspirations, so was it with the advanced Mahomedans in the matter of Pro-Turkish sentiments." There was a feeling, not illegitimate, that "Loyalty during the war might very well count for nothing after the danger to the commonwealth had passed away". A Khalifat deputation to England to voice Mahomedan sentiment headed by Mr. Mahomed Ali was not of much consequence, when Mahatma Gandhi moved by the injustice that had been done to Mahomedan religious sentiment came forward to espouse their cause and thus bring about a further cohesion of the Hindu Mahomedan *entente*. The violence done to the Hindus of the Punjab was

great. He therefore placed the two burning questions of the day before the country and called for judgment on the 5th of September 1920 at the special congress held in Calcutta and again in its ordinary sessions held the following December at Nagpur. On both these occasions it was discovered that he had the country with him and what the great Mahatma suggested as a remedy came as a mandate from the people, *Viz*, Non-co-operation with the Government all along the line. In obedience to such a mandate the spirit of sacrifice evinced by some political leaders is creditable but the most notable examples are those of Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Moti Lall Nehru and Mr. Mazarul Haque, three gentlemen who may be said to have been in the enjoyment of the most lucrative legal practice in their respective provinces of Bengal, U.P. and Bihar. It is only right to say that the principle of Non-co-operation has made the deepest impression on the people and if the practice of it can bring in Swaraj, Lord Chelmsford will have earned the gratitude of future generations

of Indians even though he may not have desired it.

THE VISIT OF THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

About the middle of the year 1920 the Khalifat Committee under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi started to educate the country on the principles and ethics of Non-co-operation as a political weapon. It caught the fancy of the people who felt convinced that that was the only effective political weapon they have in their hands in order to attain what they desire, without violence or bloodshed. Soon enough it became apparent that the apostle of Non-co-operation had the whole country at his feet. He had reached the masses, Hindus and Mohomedans such as no other patriot except Swami Vivekananda and partly Bal Gangadhar Tilak had done before. Fears were entertained that the Prince of Wales might not be received by the Indian people with that enthusiasm and cordiality which undoubtedly is the portion of a Royal visitor. In these circumstances it was

considered politic and desirable that the prince who had not been in the best of health due to overstrain brought on by his progress in Australia should visit India a year later when the heat of the political atmosphere had passed away. Instead, it was decided that H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught should come out to inaugurate the Reforms and deliver His Majesty's gracious message to "Forgive and Unite." Upon his arrival the Duke was shown the India of the Princes and Autocrats, of Zamindars and Bureaucrats and of Soldiers and sportsmen. But the real India, the India of farmers and labourers, the awakened, enlightened, aggrieved and struggling India kept herself studiously away from him. The message fell flat upon the country because the hands of Sir Michael O'Dwyer of General Dyer, of Colonel Frank Johnson and a host of other right trusty public servants were allowed still to be reeking in the blood of her own children, and her heart was withering with the pangs of flogging and crawling and her mind was embarrassed

with the breach of pledges given to the Moslems of India.

HIS RETIREMENT

No Viceroy ever made himself more unpopular than Lord Chelmsford whose appointment to the highest office of trust under the Crown was perhaps owing to the fact that he had no past. No Viceroy more frequently called in the aid of the Press Act, the Seditious meetings Act, Regulation IV of 1804, Regulation III of 1818 and Martial law than Chelmsford. The Indian National Congress, the Moslem League and hundreds of other political organisations passed vehement resolutions of censure on and of want of confidence in him and for his recall, a novel feature in Indian political activity. Towards the close of his administration political bodies and municipal organisations wherever he went refused to vote farewell addresses to him, and he actually went round the country abegging for receptions and valedictory addresses. The convocation of the University of Calcutta over which the

Viceroy as Chancellor was to have presided in February last had to be put off lest graduates should decline to obtain their degrees at his hands and senators and fellows should refuse to receive him. Not the least important of manifestations of public disapprobation of his rule is the number of renunciations of titles of honour high and low, in which the great world poet Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore led the way. During his five years tenure of office he succeeded in creating an India which two hundred years of British Rule had failed to do. He succeeded in creating a situation which any Viceroy after him, unless he was a super-Viceroy would find it difficult to cope with. In the absence of such a man one should fail to see much day-light ahead. A weak, tactless and incompetent ruler-for that is the verdict of History-Lord Chelmsford leaves India in April 1921. India will breathe a sigh of relief!